

*125
*648
622
484
A
F
those days it says: "Each year when these Ezo visited Matsumae castle they were made to walk under the castle gate on which naked swords had been crossed and also under an unsheathed spear."

It is said that this was done to discourage them from revolt.⁴⁰ This book further notes: "When the Ezo came to visit the lord, the Japanese armed themselves fully in order to impress the natives." There is a passage in the *Ezo Koku Shiki* which demonstrates the political importance of these visits.

*175
*648
431
622
A
F
When becoming an *Otona* the Ezo must beforehand prepare gifts to present to the lord such as Ezo brocade or rare goods from China. He must get in touch with the manager of the post who operates the vessels coming to his village as well as with the interpreter, foreman, and the lodging house in Matsumae. Having thus prepared all this, the *Otona* takes his parents, brothers, wives, and children to Matsumae where he would put up at the lodging house. After reporting his arrival and intentions to the chief steward, he would make his call on an auspicious day and present his gifts. The lord would offer him sake and tobacco and a certificate for rice. After leaving the castle and taking a brief rest he would go again to the castle to bid farewell. The next day he would receive rice for his certificate and then, waiting for a fair day, set out for home where he would become *Otona* and govern his village.

*175
*648
574
576
A
F
It was then essential to pay a visit to the lord when becoming an *Otona*. The above quotation should be considered with the record in *Mōjin Seia Dan*. "When the chiefdom changed it was reported to the lord." The visit came to be regarded as the courtesy call of a new chief. Originally there was no difference in social position for at the end of the seventeenth century the chief was allowed to sit next the lord. In later years the chief had to sit on a straw mat placed in the courtyard.⁴¹ In contrast to the *Uimamu* at Matsumae there was at each *Basho* a ceremony called *Omusha* which, similar to the *Uimamu* pattern, began to be used as a method of rule arising from ceremony. It is believed that *Omusha* comes from either the Japanese *Obusha* or *Osha* but there is no reliable derivation.⁴² Some seek the origin in the Ainu language; the author of *Tōkai Yawa* believes it derives from "Ikohi Yasurafu" [rest or recess].⁴³ However, this is taken from a later context and does not seem to have much authority. I believe *Omusha* came from *Umusha*.⁴⁴ In the Ainu language the distinction between *O* and *U* is not very clear and there are many examples when Japanese have taken the one for the other. "*U*" means "mutually" and "*musha*" is "to pat the other on the head out of courtesy." It is then an etiquette involving the mutual patting of heads. *Umusha* is also called *Ururiruy* (commonly *Uriri*) and is a custom used among the Ainu when

⁴⁰ Tsugaru Kibun.

⁴¹ Tatematsu Tomo, *Tōyuki* in *SHS* 2: illustration No. 1.

⁴² Ishiba Takakado, *Omusha Ko*, in *Higashi Ezo Nikki* 2.

⁴³ *Tōkai Yawa*.

⁴⁴ Takakura Shinichirō, "Omusha Ko" in *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 1 (3).

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,
 [264] *shiki*,¹ and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal
 [177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news [203] is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrassment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends. [195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies. 764 Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer he exclaims '*fuō*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor. He again exclaims '*fuō*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech [537] is called *pone ewe homsu*,² sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

¹ *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced.—H.W.

² *Homsu* or *homshu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

- 292 prescribed design and length under her clothing.¹ This is called the
 789 *upshoro* (or *upsoro*) *kut*, but in ancient tradition it is referred to as
 • [195] *a-eshimukep*. *A* is an honorific corresponding to the Japanese *O*,
 and *eshimukep* means 'most hidden thing'. Other names used only
 by old people are *ishirimaauriri* meaning 'sustaining great [or
 bodily] strength', *raun kut* or *ram kut*, under-girdle or soul or spirit
 girdle. At first he discovered only three types of *kut*, which were
 [611] said to indicate three lines of matrilineal descent and were associ-
 ated respectively with Wakka-ush Kamui, the deity of fresh water,
 Kim-un Kamui, the bear deity and Rep-un Kamui, the sea deity
 or grampus. Each type is woven in a particular way, with a definite
 [283] number of strands and attached tabs, and is made of wild flax (*hai*).
 [428] Every woman inherits from her mother her type of *kut*; men are
 supposed to have no knowledge of them and are never allowed to
 see them; even among themselves women are cautious about talk-
 [869] ing of them or exposing them. Girls are taught that they must not
 [182] reveal the secret of their girdle to anyone. At the time of Munro's
 investigations in the early thirties many young women were no
 longer capable of making girdles for themselves, and older women
 had to do it for them when a new one was required. They knew
 little more than the names of the *kamui* to whom their girdles were
 dedicated. The *kut* were reputed to have magical powers by means
 of which women were said to be able to calm a storm, hold back

- [804] ¹ The following is extracted from a letter dated April 14th, 1934, from Munro:
 There is a special measure for the girdle, as I am informed by two women
 independently. The girdle, or rather its cord, is measured between the out-
 stretched hands, the cord (*tush*) being held between the end of the thumb and
 the forefinger. . . . Obviously the span differs in different persons. But there is
 another source of difference in length. I am told that women of small size
 measure the difference between the sum of the measured lengths thus obtained
 and the conventional length for a special deity by a short measure between the
 shoulder joint and the thumb, while those of large size measure it between the
 top of the sternum and the thumb. Both these are called *atem* (*at-tem*, half
 arm's length) though there is a difference of several inches. The length between
 the outstretched arms is called *shine-tem* or one arm's stretch. They call this
 now by the Japanese name, one *ken*, which is 6 feet, and would say that a *tush*
 is so many *ken* and a half. Obviously such measurements are not constant.
 [428] Moreover . . . the *kut* is strictly private in each family line of matrilineal succe-
 sion, so increment of difference in length is unavoidable. However, women
 interrogated separately are quite positive that the length of their own cord has
 not changed, because the measure was handed down from the sacred ancestral
 source. Unfortunately, I can find no note as to the age at which girls were first
 given their girdles, whether a small girdle was given to young girls, and whether
 the first assumption of the girdle was accompanied by any ceremony.'